

*Col. Peter Force*

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THE  
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AND  
**COLONIAL JOURNAL.**

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APPLICATION FOR A CHARTER.

The American Colonization Society obtained in the year 1831 an act of incorporation from the Legislature of Maryland. Doubts as to the efficiency of this charter have been so industriously suggested by interests adverse to those of the society, that much of the benefit which the Legislature designed to confer on it has been prevented. These doubts, which are believed not to rest on a solid foundation, have been made use of even in cases of bequests, so framed as to render the question of charter or no charter immaterial to the competency of the society to take under them. They would probably be overruled by a judicial tribunal; but they have sometimes been urged under circumstances which induced the managers to regard a losing compromise as a less evil to the institution under their charge, than a distant, expensive, and protracted lawsuit, however encouraging might be the prospect of victory.

But the time at length came when duty required them to adopt a decisive course for protecting the rights of the society, and securing the intentions of benevolent testators against the chances of litigation. As the managers reside in the city of Washington, they naturally looked to the local legislature of the District of Columbia for the desired authority; nor could they reasonably apprehend that, because the Federal Congress is that legislature, such a consideration could possibly impair the force of their appeal. To enable individuals associated for a constitutional, lawful, and beneficent purpose, to hold property which they may acquire, is an ordinary exercise of legislative power, not heretofore supposed improper in reference to the people of the District. Indeed, the supposition would, if acted on, superinduce, to a certain extent, on the evils of their political disfranchisement, the penalties of a civil outlawry.

Under the impressions which have been stated, that the American Colonization Society needed a charter of unquestionable efficiency, and that Congress might properly be solicited to grant it, the managers, on the 27th of January, through the President of the institution, presented a petition for it to the Senate of the United States. A motion,

made by him, to refer it to the Committee for the District of Columbia, gave rise to a discussion which ended in the motion's being laid on the table. On the 30th of January, Mr. CLAY moved to take up the petition, and the motion was decided in the negative. This result is well understood not to indicate a feeling on the part of the Senate unfriendly to the society. Indeed, several of those who voted against referring the memorial are among the most earnest and distinguished advocates of colonization. It will be seen, by an account of the proceedings which we shall presently subjoin, that Mr. CALHOUN invoked the constructive testimony of Mr. MADISON against the memorial, and that the act of that great man, to which Mr. CALHOUN referred, was shown by Mr. CLAY to be irrelative to the case before the Senate. On this subject an interesting statement has been made by a correspondent of the Alexandria Gazette, for February 3d, 1837, signing himself "A friend to the Colonization Society," in which, speaking of President MADISON's veto of a bill incorporating a church in Alexandria, he says: "The writer of these few remarks has a distinct knowledge of the fate of the bill. Mr. MADISON did not object to the bill upon the ground that Congress had not the power to incorporate a religious society in this District; but the principle of the objection went to the details of the bill, one of which was that it provided for the support of the poor of the particular church, and the education of poor children of the same church, which he said were matters for municipal regulation. The writer had an interview with Mr. MADISON on the subject; he admitted that a bill might be framed that would not be objectionable. It is well known to those who at that time took an interest in this subject, that, notwithstanding Mr. MADISON's objections, there was a majority of nearly two-thirds, in both Houses of Congress, in favor of passing the bill. Although I have always had a great respect for the character and opinions of Mr. MADISON, it seems difficult to discover how that clause of the constitution which declares that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion," was intended to prohibit Congress from passing a law granting to a religious society, in the District of Columbia, the rights of a corporate body, so that it might hold property, and manage with more convenience the affairs of the society. It is too obvious that the object of this provision of the constitution was to prohibit the establishment, by Congress, of a national religion, to prevent any legislative interference with the liberty of conscience in matters of religion, which consists in the absolute and unrestrained exercise of our religious opinions and duties in that mode which our reason and conscience dictate."

This writer refers also to the practical construction given by President JEFFERSON to the same clause of the constitution, in his approval of the act passed by Congress, March 28, 1806, "to incorporate the Presbyterian Congregation in Georgetown," (see Davis's *Laws of the District of Columbia*, p. 172,) and to that given by President MONROE to the act of February 18, 1821, to incorporate the Columbian College, in the District of Columbia,\* which the writer

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\* See Davis's *Laws of D. C.* p. 352.



adds, "is a Baptist institution, governed and managed by them exclusively. Mr. CALHOUN was at this time Secretary of War, and a member of that Cabinet. I refer him, lastly, to a law passed since he has been a Senator, if not since he has been a Senator, certainly while he was Vice President.\* I allude to the law passed 2d March, 1831, entitled "an act to carry into effect certain Indian treaties."† By this law, ten thousand dollars are appropriated for building council houses for chiefs, and churches, as stipulated by the 20th article of the treaty with the Choctaw Indians. It may be said that this law was in execution of a treaty; this is true; but does not that clause of the constitution which declares that "Congress shall make no law respecting religious establishments," as much prohibit the President and Senate from agreeing to build churches for Indians, or for any other set of people, and Congress from appropriating the public money to a purpose of this sort, as from incorporating a religious society, or the Colonization Society. I have no doubt of the power of Congress to make this appropriation; I think this is a practical construction, by Congress, of that clause of the constitution on which Mr. CALHOUN seems to rely for his objection to incorporating the Colonization Society. I hope he will take the trouble to examine the references here made, and that he will change his course on this subject. It was objected, that the society is formed, in part, by citizens of the different States, and therefore not confined to the District: the same objection would apply to the Columbian College; some of the contributors to or trustees of which reside in the States, and also to the various banks and insurance companies which have been established in the District of Columbia, and incorporated by Congress, a large portion of the stock in each being held by persons, residing not only in some of the States, but out of the United States. Some of the directors of these institutions also reside in the States."

However we may regret, it is not our purpose to criticise the vote of the Senate which has been noticed. The society's application to Congress for a charter will not probably be repeated without a more animating prospect of success than is now presented. Other means for protecting the rights and interests of the institution will be attempted; and meanwhile we renew the recommendation formerly given to our friends designing to bequeath property to the society, that they would adopt the form of the will of Miss Elizabeth Lee Jones, of which an extract is given in this work for January, 1835. (*See African Repos. vol. 11, p. 24-26.*)

The following report of the proceedings in the Senate of the United States, above referred to, is extracted from the National Intelligencer:

*Friday, January 27, 1837.*

#### AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

Mr. CLAY said he had a memorial from sundry citizens of the District of Columbia, which stated that, about twenty years ago, an association was formed, in this city, for the purpose of establishing a colony of free persons of color

\* Mr. Calhoun was at this time Vice President of the United States.

† See 8 L. U. S. 450-452. Continuation of Bioren's edition.

on the shores of Africa. In pursuance of this object of the society, aided solely by means of the free contributions of the pious and the good in the country, they had established a colony. A great many donations had been made, and many bequests in money and lands; but, for the want of a corporate power, they had already sustained considerable losses, and apprehended more losses on that account. They now asked simply an act of incorporation, so that they might have power to receive donations and bequests. Mr. C. moved the reference of the document to the Committee for the District of Columbia.

Mr. CALHOUN said he regretted very much that the Senator had offered this memorial at this time. Any thing which touched the general subject at all must produce discussion, and rather tend to increase the excitement. Mr. C. said this, not with any intention to oppose the reference, but he thought the subject could not be agitated with benefit to any interest; and he hoped, therefore, it would not be acted upon.

Mr. CLAY said he regretted extremely any expressions, even in the modified form used by the Senator from South Carolina, in the way of opposition to this memorial. The day would come when the merits of this society would be properly estimated. Its basis was that of separating a portion of the inhabitants of the country from the residue, with which they never could be amalgamated. It touched no interest, no property, and could affect no interest, and no right, enjoyed by citizens of the States. The day was at hand when the objects of the society would be viewed in their true light. But, with respect to their present object, it would be to Mr. C. matter of utter astonishment if it could be met with opposition. The power of Congress to legislate for the District was very extensive; and that it comprised the object of this memorial none could doubt. It merely asked the power to receive donations; and Mr. C. would remind the Senate that one of the greatest patriots which the country had produced, (Mr. Madison,) being doubtful whether the society could hold a bequest, for the want of corporate powers, had made his bequest to Mr. Gurley, the Secretary, in trust, for the benefit of the society. All the society asked was, that they might possess this power.

Mr. CALHOUN said he was aware that he and the Senator from Kentucky thought very differently on this subject. But this was not the time to agitate the matter. Mr. C. would also quote an example from the same illustrious individual to whom Mr. C. had alluded. Such was his opposition to acts of this kind, that he had vetoed a bill to incorporate a church in Alexandria; and much more should a measure be opposed involving a great constitutional question; and the Senate ought to feel a great responsibility in acting on this subject. Mr. C's object was not discussion; he would rather not have said one word; but his silence might have been misconstrued into acquiescence. He would not oppose the reference, but he trusted the committee would not act upon it.

Mr. C. stated that, when a petition in behalf of this society was presented in 1817, he had been prevented only by the circumstances from opposing it. He would otherwise have risen in his place and protested against the interference of the Government, in any manner, with the population in question.

Mr. WALKER said he deemed it a most unfortunate circumstance that, among his constituents, the Colonization Society had been rendered unpopular by the doings of the abolitionists. It had at one time been extremely popular; and many among the largest slaveholders in the State had contributed liberally to its support. But now every thing touching the agitation of this subject at all was decidedly unpopular. He therefore hoped the Senator from Kentucky would not insist on his motion, and he hoped that he himself would see the impropriety of adopting it.

Mr. CLAY said he would be extremely happy, if his duty would permit him, to conform to the views of the Senator. But he could not do so. He agreed with him, that whatever of unpopularity in the South had befallen the Colonization Society, had been effected by the abolitionists. But, as far as he understood the aims and objects of the abolitionists, they were just as much hostile to this society as to the slaveholders. They had denounced and opposed it in every possible form.

Mr. C. stated that the veto of Mr. Madison on the Alexandria church bill arose from his regarding it as an interference with religion, such as was prohibited by the constitution. But Congress had incorporated many charitable societies, about which there was a difference of opinion. But should they, therefore, be opposed? Mr. C. believed that a large majority in the slaveholding States were still in favor of the society. As it regarded the right of property contended for, Mr. C. agreed that Congress had no right to touch it. But the Colonization Society touched no such right, and in its success all parties were interested.

Mr. BUCHANAN suggested that the society was not confined to the District, either as it regarded its members or its operations. He therefore moved that the memorial be referred to a select committee, at the head of which, if Mr. CLAY should be placed, he would be better able, from his full information on the subject, to make a proper report.

Mr. CLAY said he had fully considered the subject, and, as he thought, had freed it from every objection to a reference to the Committee for the District, by limiting the object simply to a corporate power to receive donations.

Mr. CALHOUN was in favor of a select committee. The society and its operations were commensurate with the Union. Mr. C. regarded the present relation between the white and colored people as the only one that could exist; and he was, therefore, opposed to every thing that went to disturb this relation, as he thought this society and the measure proposed were calculated to do.

Mr. PRESTON said he hoped the petition would go to the Committee for the District; that committee was abundantly competent to judge how far the subject belonged to them, and they would doubtless act accordingly. If the object was to carry the measure beyond the limits of the District, Mr. P. would be utterly opposed to a reference at all.

Mr. CLAY further urged the importance of the society, and of giving it all proper facilities, by noticing the beneficial effects which would be produced in civilizing and christianizing the African continent.

Mr. CALHOUN said he had always considered the principal and avowed object of the society to ultimately bring to an end the system of slavery. He admitted the benefits which might result to the people of Africa; but he contended that the powers of Congress were limited; and he deemed this object too extensive to come within their powers.

Mr. STRANGE opposed the reference to any committee, both because Congress was incompetent, and because it was inexpedient to meddle with this very delicate subject.

Mr. BUCHANAN further urged a reference to a select committee, because the operations of the society were not only coextensive with the United States, but with the African continent.

After some further remarks by Messrs. CLAY, BUCHANAN, RIVES, STRANGE, and KING, of Georgia,

On motion of Mr. KING, of Georgia, the motion to refer was laid on the table: Ayes 24, noes 12:

*Monday, January 30.*—Mr. CLAY moved to take up the memorial from the Colonization Society, presented by him on Friday last, expressing the hope that there would be no further debate upon it, and calling for the yeas and nays on the question of taking up; which were ordered.

The question was then tried, and decided in the negative, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Bayard, Clay, Clayton, Davis, Kent, Knight, Morris, Niles, Prentiss, Robbins, Robinson, Southard, Swift, Tallmadge, Tomlinson, Wall—16.

NAYS—Messrs. Benton, Black, Brown, Buchanan, Calhoun, Cuthbert, Dana, Fulton, Grundy, Hubbard, King, of Alabama, King, of Georgia, Linn, Lyon, Moore, Nicholas, Norvell, Page, Preston, Rives, Ruggles, Strange, Tipton, Walker, White, Wright—26.

So the memorial remains on the table.

In connexion with the proceedings in the Senate, concerning the memorial of the parent society, asking for a charter, we copy the



following proceedings in the House of Representatives, as being on the general subject of African colonization.

*Monday, January 16, 1837.*—Mr. JONES, of Ohio, presented the memorial of the managers of the Colonization Society of Fredericksburg, Ohio, praying Congress to further their objects in the District of Columbia.

Mr. ADAMS called for the reading of the memorial; which was read accordingly.

Mr. PINCKNEY moved to lay the memorial on the table, and asked for the yeas and nays on that motion, which were ordered; and were—Yeas 130, nays 49; [Mr. WISE refusing to vote.] So the memorial was laid on the table.

*Monday, January 30, 1837.*—A memorial of certain citizens of Kentucky, in favor of aid and support being extended to the Colonization Society, being presented by Mr. CALHOON, Mr. ADAMS moved that the memorial be read; which having been done, Mr. A. made some remarks in the view that, as this memorial related to slavery, it should meet with the same treatment which his own petitions had. Mr. A. moved, therefore, that the memorial be laid on the table. After some remarks from Mr. MERCER, in favor of the petition, the motion was put, and lost by a great majority against it. The petition, therefore, was received, and lies over.

*Monday, February 6, 1837.*—The unfinished business was the petition presented on Monday last, from citizens of the State of Kentucky, praying liberal pecuniary aid from Congress, in favor of the objects of the Colonization Society.

The said petition had been referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs; and the question now pending was the motion heretofore submitted by Mr. ADAMS, to reconsider the vote by which the petition had been referred to the said committee.

Mr. HUNTSMAN made some few remarks vindicating the members of the Colonization Society against the charge of their being abolitionists; and stated, furthermore, that he believed this question was merely raised for the purpose of attempting to slide into a discussion on the subject of abolition. He therefore moved the previous question; but withdrew the motion at the request of

Mr. CALHOON, on his promise to renew the same. Mr. CALHOON said he felt it due to the petitioners to state to the House that they were men of the first respectability; that not a single man of them could be charged with entertaining doctrines favorable to the abolitionists, and that they were as far from being abolitionists as any men in that House, or in any part of the nation. For himself, Mr. C. said, he did not think there was any sort of connexion between the Colonization Society and the abolitionists. Not wishing to discuss this question, he renewed the motion for the previous question.

Mr. PATTON moved to lay the motion to reconsider on the table.

Mr. ADAMS asked of the candor of the House to permit him to say a few words.

The SPEAKER said that neither the call for the previous question nor the motion to lay on the table could be debated.

After some desultory conversation, as to the effect of the motion to lay on the table the motion to reconsider, in which Messrs. PATTON, DENNY, MERCER, ADAMS, and PINCKNEY, participated,

The question on the motion to lay the motion to reconsider on the table was taken, and decided in the affirmative: Ayes 121, noes not counted.

So the motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

*Monday, February 13, 1837.*—Mr. INGERSOLL presented a petition praying aid to the Colonization Society, which he moved be referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. ADAMS objected; and contended that the memorial should be laid on the table, under the order of the 18th January.

The SPEAKER said the memorial would not come under the resolution. Similar memorials had been presented, which, in some instances, had been



referred, and in others had been laid on the table. In the latter instance, the disposition was the effect of a motion made for such purpose.

Mr. ADAMS called for the reading of the memorial.

[And the memorial, giving rise to debate, was then ordered to lie over.]

#### THE COLONIZATION CAUSE IN VIRGINIA.

The Colonization Society of Virginia petitioned the Legislature of that State at its present session for a charter. The petition, together with others on the subject of African colonization, were referred to a Select Committee of the House of Delegates.

On the 30th of January, Mr. WATKINS, from the Select Committee on the subject of African colonization, made the following report:

The committee to whom was referred the petition of the Board of Managers of the Colonization Society of Virginia, together with a petition of divers citizens of Fredericksburg, on the same subject, have had the said petitions under their consideration, and have come to the following resolutions thereupon:

*Resolved*, That so much of the petition as prays for the passage of an act to incorporate the said society (but subject to alteration and repeal at all times) is reasonable.

*Resolved*, That so much of the petition as prays for an amendment of the act of 1833, making provision for the removal of free persons of color from this State, and for a removal of the restrictions which have hitherto rendered that provision unavailing, is reasonable.

Letters from Richmond inform us that a bill would be reported conformably to the principles of the resolutions, incorporating the society, extending for five years the act of March 4, 1833, and removing the restriction in the act to colored persons free at the time of its passage, and born and residing within the Commonwealth, or their descendants.

On the 1st of February, a petition was presented to the House of Delegates, by Mr. MAY, of citizens of Petersburg, for aid to the Colonization Society of Virginia, and one by Mr. Wills, of the Colonization Society of Lynchburg, asking aid from the Legislature.

"We should deem it," says the able and eloquent Editor of the Fredericksburg Arena, "supererogatory to enter, at this day, on the discussion of the merits of the colonization scheme. Suffice to say, it is emphatically a Virginia measure, and had its origin in certain resolutions of the Legislature early in the present century—that it has received the support of our most enlightened statesmen and purest patriots, and that it commends itself now to the munificent liberality of the Legislature, by considerations which cannot be overlooked by any man solicitous for the welfare of the good old Commonwealth. We confine our views to the scheme, as a politico-economical measure, in which respect only, perhaps, statesmen may legitimately legislate upon it. Not that we are insensible to the other glorious relations of the enterprise. Who, that has a heart, could view with indifference the results that must accrue to Africa herself, from the introduction of civilization and christianity, through its instrumentality? And it is surely no objection to the scheme, that, affecting beneficially our social and political condition, it passes from the thousands and hundreds of

thousands, who are its immediate beneficiaries, and bears upon the destinies of a distant continent.

"Its blest effects low reaching to the earth,  
Its tow'ring summit lost beyond the thought  
Of man or angel."

"With respect to Colonization in Virginia, a new era has dawned. The State Society has, for the first time, asked to be incorporated, and prayed legislative aid to a plan lately broached of founding a new settlement on the coast of Africa, to be called "New Virginia." The memorial of the society, as well as a petition from citizens of Fredericksburg praying aid to the cause, were referred to a select committee, which has reported favorably. We understand that a large majority of both Houses are disposed to do something to aid the society, and, we feel persuaded, no measure would be more generally acceptable to the people at large."

*Friday, February 10.* A petition was presented by Mr. Stuart, of citizens of the counties of Rockingham and Augusta, praying an appropriation by the Legislature in aid of the Virginia Colonization Society, and a removal of the restrictions contained in the act of the General Assembly passed in 1833.

The Richmond Whig of February 14, says: The report of the Select Committee declaring reasonable the petitions for the incorporation of the Virginia Colonization Society, and amending the act of 1833 so as to make its provisions available, was agreed to by the House of Delegates yesterday, and a bill ordered.

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#### VIRGINIA COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

The proceedings of this society at its sixth annual meeting have been published at Richmond in a neat pamphlet of twenty-eight pages 8vo.

The meeting was held at the capitol, on Wednesday evening, January 11, 1837. The audience was one of the most numerous and intelligent ever convened in Richmond. The President being absent, JUDGE MAY was called to the chair.

The annual report was then presented and read by the Rev. CHAS. W. ANDREWS, general agent of the society.

After noticing the early history of Africa, the project of planting colonies there, conceived in 1783 by GRANVILLE SHARPE, the founder of SIERRA LEONE, the accessions in 1791 to that settlement, of slaves taken by the British army in our revolutionary war, and first settled in Nova Scotia; the subsequent accession, about the year 1805, of the Maroons from Jamaica; the extension of the patronage of the British Government to this colony in 1807; and the present number, near 30,000, of its present population, the report gives a brief history of the American scheme of African colonization. It adverts to the support given to it by Mr. MONROE, Chief Justice MARSHALL, Mr. MADISON, and other distinguished Virginians, and to the deaths of two who were Vice Presidents of the Virginia society—JAMES PLEASANTS,

formerly Governor of the State, and Horatio G. Winceton. It states that, prior to 1828, two legislative appropriations in aid of it were made; and that though, in consequence of the restrictions annexed to the act of March 4, 1833, but little benefit proceeded from it, the amount of private donations had been increased. "As far," it adds, "as public sentiment can be ascertained, it is believed that the whole community are desirous of the success of this cause. Instances have occurred, in which all the religious denominations of a town, closing their respective places of worship on the sabbath, have assembled at one place, to hear the claims of this great work of Christian charity.

"The amount of funds raised during the past year shows an increase over former years which is truly encouraging. The amount raised in Virginia during the year 1834 was about \$2,000, in 1835 about \$3,000, and in 1836 the amount raised or subscribed is near \$8,000. Of this, \$1,500 was from the estate of the late General Blackburne, and other considerable sums having been paid to the parent board, will not appear in the account of the treasurer of this society. Between \$300 and \$400, raised in Norfolk, is retained by the auxiliary society there, with the hope of increasing it to such an amount as will enable them to send a vessel, with emigrants to Africa, from that place.

"Many of the most prominent individuals in different parts of the State have manifested a praiseworthy zeal in promoting the interests of colonization."

The report then notices the progress of the cause in other States, Mr. GURLEY's visit, last year, to the southwest, and the progress of the colonies.

"The society," proceeds the report, "have now jurisdiction of the coast for nearly three hundred miles. They have upwards of four thousand colonists, at nine different settlements; one of which has been established during the past year, and bears the venerated name of the late President of our State society, [Judge Marshall.] The inhabitants of all these settlements are in good health."

"The people are now more settled in occupations; the majority are engaged in farming, while trade is pursued with enthusiasm by the regular merchants. The colony now possesses great advantages for trade. In the purchase of Cape Palmas, by the State Colonization Society of Maryland, the colonists have obtained the commercial key of the great leeward coast, stretching from the gulf of Guinea.

"There are now in the settlements near twenty public buildings, independent of churches. There are thirteen places of public worship, some of them permanent stone buildings, where the gospel is preached in its purity from sabbath to sabbath. Recent visitors have borne uniform testimony to the temperance and morality of the colonists.

"Eighteen months ago, there were thirteen common literary schools. The number at the present time is supposed to be greater. A large proportion of the children attend the sabbath schools. Arrangements are also being made for the erection of a college; nearly one-half of the necessary funds have been raised. They have a printing press,

from which is issued the "*Liberia Herald*;" of which paper a considerable number of copies are taken in this country. During the past year, nine missionaries have sailed for the colony—six white and three colored—making, in all, about twenty in the field. The Rev. Mr. Minor, of Virginia, and the Rev. Mr. Payne, of Maryland, expect to sail in the spring."

"It has been a part of the business of the Colonization Society to report, year by year, the situation of the slave trade. In the year 1776, a year the mention of which creates a glow of enthusiasm in every American bosom, *David Hartley* laid upon the table of the House of Commons a part of a chain taken from a captive confined in the hold of a British slaver. It produced a thrill of horror in that House, which vibrated through every part of the kingdom, until a war commenced, waged by Wilberforce and Clarkson, and subsequently by Burke, and Fox, and Pitt, on the one hand, and on the other by avarice, then, as now, the master passion of half the world. It is the glory of Virginia, that, before the revolution, she remonstrated against this trade; and that, after its limitation had been fixed by the constitution of the United States, one of her sons led the way in the national legislature to procure its actual abandonment, and by the influence of his zeal and abilities, the slave trade received, in the year 1820, its present legal denomination of piracy. And in this, our example has been followed by other nations, until, upon the 23d of March, 1830, it ceased to be a legal traffic by any christian nation in Europe or America. Still the friends of humanity are pained to find that it is but slightly checked. Within the last few weeks, one British cruiser recaptured 1,157 in the middle passage in eight days. Whole cargoes of children have been recently recaptured by the armed vessels of the same nation, and taken into Sierra Leone, in so famished a condition as to be hardly able to stand, upon their arrival. The number exported from the coast during the past year to South America and the West Indies, is estimated at not less than 70,000; and the horrors attending the trade are at this moment as great as when first the civilized world was awakened by the disclosures of Clarkson.

"How, it is still asked, in the name of outraged humanity, shall this scandal to christendom be arrested? The judgment of legislatures has been stormed by argument, and laws have been passed, but they remain a dead letter. The voice of eloquence, in behalf of Africa, has ceased to reverberate in our halls, while her sufferings continue in all their bitterness. The influence of our own navy has hardly been felt on the African station, for a number of years. There have also been cases (the assertion is borne out by the public documents of the Government) where recaptured Africans have been brought into the United States for adjudication, who, for aught they have gained thereby, might as well have remained in the floating dungeon of the remorseless slave trader. But it is believed that no naval force whatever could terminate the traffic. As an eloquent son of Virginia once said, "*Hannibal must be conquered in Africa.*" It is by planting colonies at the most prominent points, and enlightening the natives, that the trade is to be abolished. The points now occupied by our



colonies were formerly the great marts of the coast. But such has been their influence, that to the northward of Sierra Leone no factory is found nearer than the Rio Pongas, and that is nearly abandoned. Between Sierra Leone and Monrovia there is one only, at the Gallinas. Between Monrovia and Cape Palmas there is also but one. So that 360 miles of the coast are completely rescued, and more than 700 miles partially relieved. The trade is now chiefly prosecuted south of the equator."

The managers mention, as obstacles interrupting the purposes of the institution, the movements of the abolitionists, and the want of pecuniary means.

"The State of Maryland has appropriated \$200,000 for colonizing in Africa any persons of color from that Commonwealth, whether born free or emancipated for that purpose. Under the influence of this appropriation, their colony, called Maryland, in Liberia, is in a highly prosperous condition. It was hoped that the Legislature of Virginia would have enabled its State society to accomplish a similar object; but the annual appropriation for five years of \$18,000, being divided into 113 parts between the counties, and limited in its application to those freed previous to a certain time, and the commissioners appointed under the act to superintend its appropriation, requiring the society to prove the age, residence, and identity of such persons; the time at which they were emancipated, by certificates from the clerks of counties where they reside, and their transportation to be shown by affidavit taken before a magistrate, together with manifests and bills of lading, it was predicted at the time, what the event has proved, that the act would never accomplish the object for which it seemed to be designed. During the past year some have been colonized by the Society, who came within the provisions of the act, but it being difficult to comply with all the formalities, it was found easier to raise the funds, as before, by private donations. It is believed that the commissioners were sincerely desirous of making the appropriation available, and only imposed such regulations as they supposed to be called for by the intention of the Legislature. The appropriation, however, is virtually limited to those who were freed previous to 1806, and their descendants, as no others can obtain the necessary certificates from the courts. It is believed that the great mass of these have never heard of the appropriation intended for their benefit, and where they have, they are generally found unwilling to emigrate. If these are ever to be removed, except by positive statute, it must be by building up the colonies in such a manner, as to leave it no longer doubtful whether they can benefit their condition by a removal; and this will prove, in the end, the cheaper method, as the majority of them could move without assistance, if thus induced. There are some peculiar reasons for the continuance of the liberality and generous policy to the colored race heretofore manifested by Virginia. When the colony consisted of 2,000 inhabitants, 1,100 had gone from Virginia. The proportion is now presumed to be greater; indeed, we are told that a considerable jealousy arose in the colonial elections, on the part of the Marylanders, from the fact that the Virginians, outnumbering all the

colonists beside, filled all the offices with their own countrymen. But, it is asked, has a corresponding proportion of the funds been supplied by Virginia? The board are compelled to respond in the negative, and acknowledge that many of her emigrants have been colonized by foreign liberality."

After referring to the pending application to the Legislature of Virginia, the managers thus close their report:

"The Board is deeply penetrated with the conviction, that the present is a period of tremendous responsibility, with all who may give direction to the public mind, with reference to the colored race. Three hundred thousand free negroes in ignorance and rags; more than two millions of slaves, intelligent and immortal beings, emerging with great rapidity from the barbarism of their ancestors, in a country where light is reflected from ten thousand surfaces, and increasing at the rate of 60,000 annually, are considerations which must affect, deeply, the mind of the enlightened statesman. The Colonization Society is considered to have demonstrated the practicability of their enterprise.

"The question whether this enterprise shall proceed to civilize and regenerate Africa, is no longer doubtful; but the question whether it shall advance to the relief of our country, is a question which this nation is now called upon to decide. Providence has disclosed the channel through which relief may be obtained. Should the decision be on the side of humanity, and of duty, the evil is not too great to be remedied. Should it be on the side of apathy and selfishness, the friends of colonization must console themselves with the reflection of having done their duty, and submit to the unavoidable calamity. But we have confidence in the *humanity*, the *wisdom*, and the *power*, of the American people. We will not distrust the providence of Almighty God. Looking to his throne, and appealing to all the citizens of this republic, we will go forward with the assured hope that this work shall not cease until the United States shall be delivered from its greatest evil, and the continent of Africa shall be blessed with education, free institutions, and the perfect religion of Jesus Christ."

On motion of Mr. MARSHALL, of Fauquier,

*Resolved*, That the report of the Board of Managers be adopted, and printed under their direction.

On motion of Mr. THOMAS JEFFERSON RANDOLPH, of Albemarle,

*Resolved*, That the members of this society, in common with every member of the community, are deeply penetrated with regret for the loss of their distinguished fellow-citizen, JAMES MADISON, late the first vice president of this society; and that they are called upon to mention with gratitude his warm attachment and munificent liberality to this institution; and that they have heard, with pleasure, the determination of the parent society to call by his name the next settlement which shall be founded in Liberia.

Mr. RANDOLPH said, having known Mr. Madison, sir, from my earliest childhood—having known him in the full power of his gigantic intellect, in the employments of the highest official station, in the peaceful retirement of private life, in its decline and honored age, until he was gathered to his fathers, loved and lamented; having, in common with my countrymen, admired him for his talents and services; honored him for his patriotism, and loved him as a great and good man; loving him myself with a truly filial affection, I shall make no apology for presenting this slight testimonial of respect to his memory. In

looking around upon this numerous audience, in beholding the drapery of mourning for his death still pendant from the chair in which you sit, I am warned that any commendatory remarks, any attempt at an appeal to your feelings, would be utterly untimed and misplaced.

On motion of Mr. ANDERSON, of Botetourt,

*Resolved*, That this society adheres to the objects of its original institution, and is entirely distinct from, and opposed to, those foreign and fanatical associations which seek to revolutionize the domestic relations of the Southern States.

In support of this resolution, Mr. ANDERSON, after remarking on the object of the "venerable patriots, philanthropists, and christians, who laid the foundation of the Colonization Society; on their desire to meliorate the condition of the free negroes, (the most degraded portion of our population;) to elevate them from their debased condition to the standard of enlightened freemen and citizens; to afford an opportunity and hold out an inducement to the liberal and humane master, to emancipate his meritorious slaves," adverted to the effect of the institution in transmitting to Africa "our arts and sciences, our free, useful, and enlightened institutions, and our pure and sublime religion." The orator then characterized the colonizing scheme as the most effectual means of suppressing the horrible slave trade. In asserting its opposition to abolition associations, he used the following language:

Sir, I had been disposed to think that many of my Southern friends were attaching too much importance to these associations; but since their incendiary schemes have received not only the countenance, but the approbation and support of the Executive department of at least one of the first States of this confederacy,\* it is time for the Old Dominion, and all those who have common interest with her, to be girding on their armor. Sir, this is a controversy which cannot be settled by argument. The honor and safety of the South require that the first onset should be met at the point of the bayonet. In such a contest I do not fear the result. In the present crisis, it behooves the generous South to patronise, and liberally support, the colonization scheme, for we know the influence of public opinion. It furnishes to our gallant countrymen in foreign lands the most effectual means to repel the insolent slanders and groundless calumnies of abolitionists, as has been recently most happily illustrated by the controversy between our patriotic and talented Breckinridge and a distinguished Scotch abolitionist. What American can read his able and triumphant defence of his countrymen, against the false and diabolical attacks of abolitionists, without feeling his heart burn within him? Sir, it is the true policy as well as the duty of the South, to patronise with a liberal hand the colonization scheme; and I hope that our Legislature will, at the present session, set an example to her sister States worthy of imitation, by making a liberal appropriation to this generous and noble scheme—an institution which breathes love to God, and peace and good will to men.

On motion of Mr. SMITH, of Culpeper,

*Resolved*, That the progress and present condition of our colonies in Africa warrant the hope which we entertain, that they will continue to flourish and promote all the best interests of Africa, and the whole African race.

The eloquent remarks of this gentleman were closed as follows:

"Our sister Maryland has a magnificent appropriation of \$200,000 devoted to this great object; but what have we done? Nothing, sir! no, nothing to which we can advert with pride and pleasure. It is true, Mr. President, we have a standing appropriation of \$18,000 a year; but this inconsiderable sum is so shackled as to be unavailing. Let the General Assembly, then, brush this obstacle from our path. So wide awake are the people to the importance of

\* Mr. Anderson was here supposed to allude to the recent message of Governor Ritner, of Pennsylvania, to the Legislature of that State.



colonizing our free negroes—so deeply sensible of the justice and enlarged benevolence which prompts their settlement on the shores of Africa, that I doubt not they would cheerfully sustain their delegates here, in freely dipping into the public crib, in aid of an object so dear to the head and heart, whether regarded as one of policy or humanity; I, at least, as the honored representative of a people, both enlightened and benevolent, would not hesitate to vote decided and efficient aid.

"Mr. President, one more suggestion, and I have done. The day on which our forefathers first placed their feet upon these shores, at Jamestown, is celebrated as an anniversary. Let the day on which the first settlement was made in Africa be likewise thus commemorated. On that day, let every minister of God, throughout the christian world, deliver appropriate addresses, and take up collections, in aid of this great and sacred undertaking. The appeal would not be in vain. The sublime fact that, at the same moment, throughout this broad land, the servants of the Most High were making the same spirit-stirring appeal, in aid of this holy work, would of itself strike the chords of sympathy in our souls, and be inevitably productive of the sweetest and happiest results.

"Sir, I could speak upon this subject from the rising to the setting sun; but I will not longer detain you and this assembly. I move the adoption of the resolution which I have had the honor to submit."

On motion of the Rev. Mr. GURLEY, of Washington city,

*Resolved*, That the magnitude and benevolence of the scheme of African colonization, and the present state of the cause, are valid reasons for greatly increased activity, liberality, and energy, on the part of its friends throughout the Union.

"In support of this resolution, Mr. GURLEY said, in effect, I congratulate this society upon the evidence, presented in the interesting report to which we have just listened, of the progress of opinion during the last year in this Commonwealth favorable to the great enterprise of African colonization. That report bears honorable testimony to the wisdom and energy of the managers of this society, and to the discretion, ability, and efficiency of the agent. Have we, Mr. President, duly considered the magnitude of our object? We propose not to erect an asylum for the blind, the insane, the orphan, or for a small number of our fellow-beings, suffering under some one of the varied forms of human calamity; we seek to confer benefits on two races of men, to relieve one continent and regenerate another. Our work is connected with the improvement and happiness of millions of men to the remotest future ages. And then of the benevolence of this scheme—we propose not merely to alleviate the distresses of poverty, to visit the prisoner, refresh the spirit of the disconsolate, and soften by kind attentions the physical sufferings to which our nature is every where exposed; no sir, but to elevate that nature itself from degradation and dishonor, to raise the human soul from the sepulchre of darkness and disgrace in which it has been interred. I deem it beneath the subject and the occasion to discuss any question in regard to the superiority or inferiority of different races of men—it is enough that the class which this society would assist are MEN; that theirs is the divine gift of reason; that imagination is theirs, with its creative power, filling the universe with images of terror or of beauty; that theirs are those precious affections which bind together society, which are the foundations of private and public virtue, the attractions of social intercourse, of kindred, and home. They are immortal; they bear the image of God; they stand representatives of the Everlasting King."

"What is the present state of the cause? The great experiment of African colonization has been fairly tried, and found successful. The practicableness of the scheme is demonstrated. A colony has been founded. On that remote and barbarous shore stand beautiful Christian settlements, inviting our free people of color to find within them an asylum from all the misfortunes and embarrassments of their present condition. What reason then can exist in future, which does not exist now, for exertion in aid of the enterprise? When Fulton had discovered the method by which the power of steam might be applied to propel boats, when the model of his engine had been constructed, when, in



fact, a single engine had been set in operation, and proved to be in practice what it was declared to be in theory, was it not enough to secure public confidence in the great utility of the discovery and the grandeur of the results? Would it have been reasonable to withhold such confidence until hundreds of boats were ascending our mightiest rivers, and the commerce and character of the world were affected by the discovery? And what can there be in the scheme of African colonization next year, to produce confidence and excite effort, which does not exist now? Will its magnitude or benevolence be greater or more evident than now? Will there be clearer evidence of its practicability? Will there be more necessity then for pecuniary contributions?"

Mr. GURLEY then remarked on the present as a propitious season for inviting to the cause of colonization the assistance of the respective State Legislatures, and on the sentiment which he had found prevailing during an extensive tour to the southwest, that the cause deserved the patronage of Government.

"And can we," he asked, in conclusion, "when we cast our eyes across the ocean and see Africa ready to welcome to her bosom her long-exiled children—when we think what she was and what she is—when we look to the monuments of her ancient glory, and think how she is cast down in sorrow and the dust. There was Egypt, and Thebes, and Carthage, and there stand the pyramids. Shall we not hasten and send back her children, with our language, liberty, laws, and religion, to rekindle her lights gone out, and reanimate and for ever preserve undying, the flame upon her altars?"

On motion of Mr. MAXWELL, of Norfolk,

*Resolved*, That the Managers of the Society be, and they are hereby, instructed to take proper measures for obtaining a suitable tract of territory on the coast of Africa, for the establishment of a new plantation, to be called New Virginia; and to be settled by free people of color, including manumitted slaves, from our own State, as soon as the necessary funds can be obtained for the purpose, from the patriotic contributions of our fellow-citizens, and the generous aid of the Legislature of our Commonwealth.

In offering this resolution, Mr. MAXWELL said, he begged leave to offer a resolution, for which the resolution which they had just adopted, and the eloquent remarks which they have heard in support of it, from his friend from Washington, (Mr. GURLEY,) had most happily prepared the way, and which he should submit to the meeting with great pleasure, as it was in perfect accordance with all the convictions of his understanding, and with all the feelings of his heart. It was in these words, [here Mr. M. read the resolution, and then proceeded.]

Mr. President, I am one of those who hailed the first establishment of the American Colonization Society, about twenty years ago, with warm, and I may say, with enthusiastic delight. I thought then, sir, as I think now, that the object of the society—the sole and single object which it had honestly avowed, and which all will agree it has most faithfully and honorably pursued, which was to remove our free people of color, with their own consent, from our country to the coast of Africa, the land of their fathers—was worthy of all support, both as it promised to promote the welfare of the emigrants themselves, and, at the same time, to liberate our land from a part of its population which it could well spare, and which it would in fact be better without. And looking beyond the immediate object of the enterprise to the influence which it would naturally and inevitably exert upon the institution of slavery as it exists in our Southern States, I thought that that influence could be only salutary and benign; for I saw at once, sir, that it could only operate—as we see it has in fact operated—to enable and encourage masters to manumit their slaves, simply by removing all the obstructions and impediments which had previously prevented them from doing it, which had damned up, as it were, "the genial current of their souls," and leaving the stream to flow on, in its own natural and proper channel, to the ocean. In this way, I thought it was obvious that it must do great good; for it must tend to lessen at least, and if it was prosecuted

ted with proper spirit, might greatly lessen, and in conjunction with other measures which it would perhaps suggest and aid, might ultimately even remove entirely the whole of that enormous evil under which our country had so long groaned, and under which it groans to this hour. I thought too, sir, as I remember it was strongly argued at that time, that the establishment of colonies of these people, at different points along the coast of Africa, would do much to abolish that most impious and infamous traffic, that atrocious "piracy," as it has been most justly enacted and branded to be—the slave trade. And I thought, moreover, that whilst we were prosecuting our enterprise, we should be diffusing the benefits of our free institutions, and all the blessings of our gracious and glorious Christianity, through that dark and benighted region of the world, with the most happy effect.

"With these views, sir, I rejoiced with all my heart in the establishment of the society. And I rejoiced the more in it, sir, because I knew that it had emanated in fact from the counsel of our own State, from a resolution which, as we have heard, had been adopted but a short time before, by the honorable body which holds its sessions in this hall—by the House of Delegates of our State. The society was thus the creature, the child of Virginia; and as they tell us that fabulous Minerva broke out full armed from the head of Jupiter, so this fair, this real divinity, I saw had sprung forth, not exactly full armed, (for she was indeed most peaceable and most amiable in all her aspects,) but full-formed, in all her wisdom and all her charms, from the head, and from the heart, of our virgin Commonwealth; and I loved the beautiful daughter not only for her own, but also for her mother's sake.

"With these sentiments, sir, I have heard from time to time, with great satisfaction, the intelligence which we have received of the progress of our cause, and of the growing and flourishing state of the colonies which we have planted in Liberia; and more especially the cheering accounts which we have heard this evening from the report which has been read, and which serve to show us what we have done, and what we may do. And I have been particularly pleased, sir, to see that Virginia has favored and fostered these colonies, which are in fact her own, with the care which she owed them; for I cannot agree, sir, in the remark that has been dropped, that she has not done her part by them. The charge indeed has been, not unkindly I am sure, but still I must say most unjustly brought against her. On the contrary, I think, and must say, that we, the people of Virginia, have contributed as liberally to them as those of any part of the United States, *according to our means*. I say *according to our means*; for if we have not given quite as much as some others, in donations of money, we are not so rich as some others. We are comparatively, indeed, if not positively, a poor people. We cannot afford to give as much as those who have got the wealth of the country in their hands. But according to our ability, (which I take to be the true measure of liberality,) I maintain that we have given as generously to this cause as those of any State in our Union, *even in money*. And we have given much more *in men*, in manumitted slaves, who would have brought money in the market, if their masters had not nobly preferred giving them their freedom for nothing; for nothing at least but the generous and godlike pleasure of liberating them in this way. And we have given *some* men to these colonies, sir, whose value, whose services to them, have been above all price, and *one*, particularly, whom I may mention, now no more, (for he died a martyr to the cause of infant liberty in Africa,) who was worth more than his weight in gold—I mean the eloquent, the pious, and the gallant Lot Carey, an emigrant from this city, whose talents, whose virtues, and whose devotion to the cause for which he lived, and in which he died, have won the admiration of all who knew him, or have heard of him; and whose name, sir, black as he was, shall brighten one of the brightest pages in the history of Africa, and of Virginia who gave him to her, to the end of time. So our citizens, I say, (or many of them,) have done their duty to this cause; and some of our most distinguished men, (as we have seen,) have signalized their attachment to it by benefactions and bequests which are worth infinitely more than the mere money which they involved, from the association and sanction of their memorable names.

And our Legislature, too, has done something for it; not as much, indeed, as I could have wished; but still something worth remembering. It has given our emigrants, on two different occasions, supplies of clothes and implements of husbandry; and it has passed, two or three years ago, a generous act making a liberal appropriation of ninety thousand dollars, payable in five annual instalments of eighteen thousand dollars each, to promote and encourage the emigration of free people of color from our own State to Liberia. It is true, indeed, as the report has reminded us, it unfortunately clogged this noble grant with conditions, which have almost nullified it in fact; but in so doing, it has, I am sure, unwittingly defeated its own design; and I cannot doubt for a moment that it will, at a word, readily knock off those inconvenient shackles from the act, and set it free. And I think, too, I may venture to predict, and almost promise for it, that it will, at no distant day, do still more for our aid, and something that shall be altogether worthy of itself, and of our cause. So I think, sir, there is no reason to complain that our State has not done its part, and its full part, with others, in this good work.

Still I must confess, and do, that we have not done all that we ought to have done, nor the half, nor the thousandth part, indeed, considering the magnitude of the undertaking, and our immediate interest in the prosecution of it; and I do most heartily agree with my worthy friend from Washington, that the time is now fairly come, when we ought to increase our exertions in this noble cause. The success which has attended our past efforts, and the growing popularity of our enterprise, do indeed warrant, and ought to encourage us to put forth all our strength to accelerate its course. In sailor's phrase, we have got a good *offing*, and we should no longer hug the shore, but launch out boldly into the deep, and spread our sails to the winds of heaven. The ocean, you see, sir, smooths his waves before us, and Africa comes out from her woods to welcome and embrace the ship that comes laden with her sons and daughters, and with innumerable and incalculable blessings for her race, and for all mankind.

In this spirit, I propose, sir, in the words of the resolution, that we instruct our managers "to take proper measures for obtaining a suitable tract of territory on the coast of Africa, for the establishment of a new plantation, to be called New Virginia, and to be settled by free people of color, including manumitted slaves, from our own State," &c. I call it a new "*plantation*," sir, because it was the term originally applied to our own colony, and I wish our new one to be, as it were, a slip from the old stock. I mean, however, that our plantation shall be, to all intents and purposes, a State—a "free, sovereign, and independent State," in all the fullest and freest sense of the term; yet not a solitary or single one, but bearing some such relation to Liberia, and to the American Colonization Society, of course, as our State does to the United States, or to the Union, and to the General Government; for we must have, in due time, a Union there also; another constellation, sir, if you please, of social stars, mingling their rays together in another hemisphere. This is the general idea, sir, which it is not necessary, I suppose, to explain more particularly just now. And the reasons which recommend this proceeding are plain and strong. I shall not detain you, however, at this late hour, to state them at large; but I will just throw them out as briefly as possible.

And, in the first place, it appears to me that, by establishing a new and separate colony of our own, we shall naturally feel a new and particular interest in its welfare. As it is, indeed, we do not throw these people off from us, as aliens unworthy of our regard. We do not throw them overboard, as some seem to think, and leave them to swim for their lives. No, sir, but we follow them with our eyes, and our hearts, to that distant shore; and we sympathize with them in all their fortunes and their fates. But, as things are, we cannot see them quite so distinctly as we could wish; for we often lose sight of them as they become mixed up in the mass of emigrants from other States. I propose, then, to put them down in "a suitable tract of territory," and keep them there together, that we may see more clearly what they are doing, and how they are going on, and coming on; and brood over them, as it were, with our whole hearts. We shall know them all then, sir, almost individually, by their



names, (which are our own names,) and look upon them, not as outcasts, but as brethren, whom we might be a little ashamed, perhaps, to own for such while here, but whom we may acknowledge with affection, and even pride, in their proper place. So we shall certainly feel a stronger interest in them than we do already. Of course, too, we shall enlarge our liberality to them. We shall give more to aid them in going out, and to set them up in their own land.

At the same time, our people of color themselves, I am sure, will like this arrangement. At present, we see, they are scattered about amongst others, and are looked upon, it appears, with rather jealous eyes, by some of them; for it seems, as we have just heard, (and I own I have been a little amused to hear it,) they carry out with them that passion for governing which they have doubtless caught from us, (though they could hardly show it here,) a inkling to manage public affairs, and have all things their own way—*only to have them right*. But others, it seems, are not quite willing to let them; and that is very natural, too. Well then, sir, we will colonize them by themselves—we will set them down there together; and leave them to strive for the mastery with one another; when the most eminent and ethereal spirits amongst them will, of course, mount up over the rest, by the mere buoyancy of merit—pretty much as it is here at home, where the *best* and *wisest*, you know, sir, are *always* uppermost—and that will be all fair play, and all *exactly right*, indeed. In this way, then, we shall make our free people of color more willing and ready to go out to their new plantation, which will be all their own; and more happy in it, too.

I may add, that there will be a charm in the very name of our new state, that will make it more interesting to us, and more attractive to them. We shall call it, you observe, sir, New Virginia! And who does not feel at once that there is something sweet and stirring in the very sound of this appellation? I know, indeed, the poet has said—or rather has made a lovesick damsel say—

"What's in a name? That which we call a rose,  
By any other name would smell as sweet."

But, sir, I deny that there is either philosophy or poetry in the assertion. On the contrary, sir, I maintain that the rose by any other name in the world would not smell half as sweet as it does by that very name of rose which belongs to it, and which has been associated with all its beauty, and all its fragrance, from our earliest memory! Sir, I appeal to the hearts of all present on this point. Who has not felt the charm of a name, when linked with some charming object, that was still more charming for its sake? So the rose shall be the rose still; and we will call our new plantation New Virginia, in preference to any and every other name that we could find for it. And this name will shed an interest over our new colony, that will endure it still more to all our hearts. We shall love our New Virginia, sir, as we love the Old. And these people, sir, will love it too; for they also love our Old Virginia, as well as we. They go out from it, we see, with reluctance, (with rather more, indeed, than I could wish,) and they look back to it from their new land with grateful remembrance. I have myself heard, with great pleasure, the warm expression of this feeling from some of their own lips, and I have seen it in the letters of others. No, happy as they are in their new country, and glad as they declare themselves to be that they have got to it, still they cannot forget Old Virginia, but still remember it, with honor and affection, as their native land. And why should they not? It is true they were once slaves here, (or their fathers before them were,) but we did not make them so. We did not go out to Africa for them. We did not drag them away from their country and their kin. We did not fasten the chains of slavery upon them. No, but they were brought bound to our doors, by Dutchmen, and Englishmen, and Yankees—ay, sir, by the fathers, perhaps, of some of those very abolitionists who would now tempt them to their ruin. They were sold to our fathers for slaves; but they fell into the hands of kind and gentle masters, who have liberated them, and sent them back again to their own country; and not the poor miserable beings that they were when they were torn away from it; but loaded with favors, a thousand times better than all the spoils of the Egyptians, with



the arts of civilized life, and with the "unsearchable riches" of the gospel of Christ, ("a pearl," indeed, "richer than all their" barbarous "tribes,") to "vindicate the ways of God to man," and to show that even the ruthless violence that wrenched them so cruelly from their native shore, could be, and should be, converted into a miracle of mercy and of blessing, by his redeeming and restoring grace. At any rate, sir, they *do* love our Old Virginia, and I trust, therefore, will love our New Virginia, and seek it too, the more for its name.

Adopt, then, sir, the resolution which I submit. Send it forth to the people of our State, who will receive it with cordial approbation. Appeal to our Legislature, now in session, who will gladly aid our enterprise, and perhaps endow our new plantation with a generous grant. Address the members of the society, and our fellow citizens generally, calling upon them for new contributions to our funds in behalf of this new object, and there will not be a man, or woman, within the four corners of our land, who will not feel it to be a duty and a privilege to give something, according to ability, to the establishment of a colony which shall be as a mirror in which our Virginia shall see her fairest face reflected back upon her, in brighter beauty, across the waves of the Atlantic; and in which all mankind shall behold the grace and the glory of her justice, of her generosity, of her patriotism, and of her piety, displayed to all the nations of the earth, till time shall be no more.

On motion of Mr. BURR, the Recording Secretary,

*Resolved*, That this Society highly appreciates the labors of their agent, the Rev. CHARLES W. ANDREWS, during the last year, and recommends to the Board of Managers to secure, if practicable, a continuation of his valuable services.

The officers and managers of the Society for the present year, were elected as follows:

JOHN TYLER, *President*.

*Vice Presidents.*

WILLIAM MAXWELL,  
ABEL P. UPSHUR,  
JOHN H. COCKE,  
EDWARD COLTSON,  
LEWIS SUMMERS,  
SIDNEY S. BAXTER,

CHARLES F. MERCER,  
JAMES M. GARNETT,  
WILLIAM C. RIVES,  
JAMES McDOWELL,  
JOHN F. MAY, and  
DR. THOMAS MASSIE.

JOSEPH MAYO, *Corresponding Secretary*.

DAVID I. BURR, *Recording Secretary*.

BENJAMIN BRAND, *Treasurer*.

*Managers.*

WILLIAM H. FITZWHYLLSON,  
NICHOLAS MILLS,  
JAMES E. HEATH,  
JOHN H. EUSTACE,  
FLEMING JAMES,  
H. A. CLAIBORNE,

JOHN H. PLEASANTS,  
HALL NEILSON,  
GUSTAVUS A. MYERS,  
JAMES C. CRANE,  
WILLIAM H. MACFARLAND, and  
JAMES GRAY.

#### LYNCHBURG COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

The Anniversary Meeting of the Lynchburg Colonization Society was held in the Methodist Episcopal Church on Friday evening, 27th January, 1837.

The President took the chair at the hour appointed, and opened the meeting with prayer.

The annual report of the Board of Managers, and the Treasurer's report, were then read by the Secretary, and adopted.

The annual report is a well-written paper, presenting a brief but comprehensive view of the benefits of the colonizing system. It would gratify us to transfer to our columns the whole of this report; but the want of room obliges us to rest content with the following extracts:

"To the plan of colonization, as proposed by the society, no valid objection can be raised. It is a scheme of extensive benevolence, designed to exert a salutary influence upon that class of population for whose benefit it was originated. It proposes to settle upon the coast of Africa the free people of color resident in the United States, with their own consent. None are forced—none driven there by the strong arm of power. It is altogether a free-will offering. It recognises, in the fullest extent, the supremacy of the constitution of the United States, and explicitly concedes the right of property in the slave. The single object it seeks to effect, is the elevation of human character, and the increase of human happiness and usefulness. It aims at the exaltation of a race of beings, who have no just ground of encouragement to virtuous action; no sufficient incentive to honorable ambition—a race occupying a relation to the governments of every State in the Union, which precludes the possibility of an increase of privileges. They continue, in the non-slaveholding as well as in the slaveholding States, what they have ever been—subjects of government, disfranchised of the privileges of freemen. In but few of the States do they enjoy the right of suffrage, and in none are they eligible to a civil office. Whatever moral worth they may possess, it can only be brought to operate upon the contracted sphere in which they revolve. Whatever patriotism glows in their hearts, it is a useless impulse, and must be concealed in the bosom which gives it birth. With whatever talents they may be endowed, and however sublime their genius, it is lost to their country. The doors of her councils are every where closed against them. Distinct in color, distinct in character, and separate in privileges, they are in effect expatriated, while inhabitants of the country.

The benefits to be derived from the Colonization Society are indeed two-fold, operating not only upon the free people of color in the United States, but likewise upon the rude and untutored African. By a partial view of the extended region of country inhabited by the barbarous tribes of Africa, it will at once be clearly perceived what a tremendous amount of moral influence would be exerted over them, by a neighboring colony of intelligent freemen. A well-grounded hope may be safely cherished, that, through this medium, the blessings of civilization and Christianity will, at no distant period, be disseminated and enjoyed throughout that wide region of moral darkness and desolation.

Nor is this the only light (full as it is of unfeigned pleasure to the philanthropist) in which this subject should be viewed. In a political aspect, it is pregnant with the deepest interest, and involves considerations which imperatively claim the most deliberate attention of every American citizen who properly estimates the value of a republican form of government."

"It becomes a proper subject of inquiry, if the Colonization Society is designed to accomplish these grand and important results, why its prospect of support is not more flattering? We must seek a solution of this inquiry in a combination of circumstances. The political excitement which has prevailed for some time, has tended greatly to retard the exhibition of the just claims of the society to the regard and support of the public. All enterprises of a benevolent character have in a measure been overlooked, in consequence of the deep interest felt in the all-absorbing political relations and condition of the country. Contending parties, in their eagerness to advance their respective opinions and wishes, have brought into action all their talents and influence, and no time has been found to devote to any thing else. A spirit, likewise, of selfish aggrandizement and speculation has prevailed to such an extent as

almost to preclude the possibility of a successful appeal in favor of any scheme of benevolence, however excellent.

"Among the greatest, and we apprehend the most serious as well as ruinous causes, which operate to weaken the claims of African colonization, is the infatuated and misguided efforts of a portion of American citizens, in the non-slaveholding States, styling themselves abolitionists. They have formed regularly organized anti-slavery societies, the professed and avowed object of which is to effect immediate emancipation. They have waged an implacable war against involuntary servitude, and, by a formal bill of rights, (in which they have denounced all slaveholders as wicked men,) they have pledged their sacred honor, fortunes, and lives, never to relax their exertions until they shall have accomplished their purposes. The means by which they seek to effect their wishes have been well calculated to create distrust in the minds of the people of the South towards the North. The publishing and circulating in their periodicals, and by tracts, highly-wrought pictures of southern cruelty and oppression towards the slaves, and eloquent appeals to the friends of emancipation, urging them to stand forth and avenge the wrongs of the captive, have given rise to a state of excited feeling unfriendly to colonization, the ulterior result of which no one can foresee. Zealous alone for the happiness and freedom of the slave, they seem to forget entirely the peace and safety of their white brethren. Anxious for an amalgamation of the family of mankind, they are totally opposed to the removal of the free people of color, and are consequently enemies to colonization. They act upon the broad ground that slavery is morally wrong, and, with more zeal than prudence, they have resolved to carry their designs into immediate execution, regardless of consequences."

"Professing to be influenced by the most enlarged philanthropy, and 'discarding all carnal weapons,' but relying solely upon 'the power of truth,' they indulge the most hostile and bitter feelings towards the slaveholder, and defame and slander his character in a manner utterly opposed to the principles of common justice, much less of that charity which suffers long, and endures all things; and with an unchristian spirit seeking to scatter among them fire-brands and the arrows of death, by instigating the slaves to insubordination.

"The abettors of abolition, both in a political and philanthropic view of the subject, have every thing to lose, and nothing to gain. Could their most enlarged desires be immediately obtained, and the whole slave population throughout this extended country proclaimed to be free, we should have a state of things which every lover of mankind would deeply deprecate. If virtue and intelligence constitute the only foundation upon which a free representative government is secure, what a melancholy prospect would be exhibited for the continuance of our happy institutions? In every slaveholding State the laws, however wise and salutary they may now be, for the suppression of crime and the maintenance of good order, would be insufficient for their purposes, when brought to operate upon the unbridled indulgences of these rude and ignorant subjects of freedom. The laws would be continually desecrated, and no influence which the moral and intelligent part of the community could exert would be sufficient to control their licentiousness or operate as a safeguard to the peace and security of the country. It requires no vision of prophecy to foretell what would be the lamentable result. The law of physical force would take the place of law and justice, and the now happy South would be converted into a theatre of discord and violence, over which even misguided fanatics, filled with the fruition of their achievements, might weep."

"To the friends of colonization we would say, discharge faithfully your duty, and let us not be deterred from contributing our influence and our money towards the furtherance of the noble and beautiful design of our society, in attempting to plant the sons of Africa upon her own fruitful but uncultivated soil. A great and glorious triumph awaits our patient and continued efforts in the experiment to diffuse light and knowledge throughout that dark moral wilderness."

ROBERT WHITEHEAD, Esq. submitted the following resolution, which he supported in a long and able address, and was unanimously adopted:



"*Resolved*, That, in the opinion of this society, there is now, more than ever, a necessity for renewed exertions in behalf of African colonization."

The REV. R. R. GURLEY (the Secretary of the Parent Society, who had arrived in town a day or two previously,) submitted the following resolution, and supported it by a deeply interesting and impressive argument:

"*Resolved*, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the President and Board of Managers of the Society, for their early, able, and persevering exertions in behalf of the scheme of African colonization; a scheme founded in benevolence, sanctioned by patriotism, demonstrated to be practicable, and destined to embrace ultimately within the compass of its benefits, vast multitudes of the human family in two quarters of the world." Adopted.

The following resolution was then offered by the Rev. JOHN EARLY, and enforced by a pertinent address:

"*Resolved*, In view of the prospect of establishing a new plantation on the coast of Africa, to be called New Virginia, of the renewed efforts necessary to compass that important object, and of the funds wanted by the Parent Society, that we now receive the report of the purses."

Which was responded to by the subscription of two hundred and seventy-five dollars, exclusive of the annual payments of the members.

After the collection had been taken up, the following resolution was offered by M. H. GARLAND, Esq. sustained by a few remarks, and agreed to:

"*Resolved*, That a memorial be presented to the Legislature, now in session, praying for an increase of the appropriation made by the act of the 4th of March, 1833, and such amendments thereto as may be deemed necessary to prolong the time and give to the fund such a direction as will best promote the interest of this Society."

Whereupon, a memorial, draughted for the occasion, was read, and ordered to be transmitted to our delegate in the Legislature, to be presented to that body.

On motion of JOHN VICTOR, Esq. it was ordered that the 7th article of the constitution of this Society, directing the Board of Managers to "secure some suitable person to deliver an address at its anniversary meetings," be erased, so as to leave the arrangements for those occasions discretionary with the Board.

Dr. WM. I. HOLCOMBE moved that a committee of ten be appointed, to solicit donations and subscriptions from persons not present on this occasion, in aid of the funds of this Society; which being agreed to, the following gentlemen were appointed said committee: Dr. WM. I. HOLCOMBE, ALEXANDER TOMPKINS, JOHN VICTOR, ROBERT WHITEHEAD, WM. S. REID, JR., JOHN M. GORDON, Gen. DAVID RODES, Dr. H. LATHAM, SAMUEL AYRES, and JUNIUS A. CLAY.

The Society then elected the following officers for the ensuing year: Rev. JOHN EARLY, President; Rev. WM. S. REID, 1st Vice President; Rev. F. G. SMITH, 2d Vice President; ELIJAH FLETCHER, Treasurer; RICHARD H. TOLER, Secretary; and Dr. WM. I. HOLCOMBE, THOMAS A. HOLCOMBE, JOHN THURMAN, ALEXANDER TOMPKINS, JOHN VICTOR, ROBERT WHITEHEAD, DAVID RODES, MAURICE H. GARLAND, JEHU WILLIAMS, JOHN M. GORDON, Rev. JOSIAH COLE, and GEORGE W. TURNER, Managers.

On motion of Mr. GARLAND,

"Resolved, That this society is gratified at the visit of the Rev. R. R. GURLEY, and that its thanks be tendered to him and to Mr. ROBERT WHITEHEAD, for their able and interesting addresses this evening.

Messrs. GARLAND and TOLER were, on motion of Mr. JOHN THURMAN, appointed a committee to solicit a copy of Mr. WHITEHEAD'S address for publication.

Ordered, That the editors of this place be requested to publish the proceedings of this meeting.

And then the Society adjourned.

JOHN EARLY, *President*.

R. H. TOLER, *Secretary*.

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#### NEW AUXILIARY SOCIETY IN OHIO.

The parent society has recently been furnished with an account of the organization of an auxiliary society in Fredericksburg, Wayne county, Ohio, on the 26th of November last. Its title is "The Fredericksburg Colonization Society, auxiliary to the American Colonization Society;" and its officers are as follows: Rev. S. IRVINE, President; J. FREDERICK, J. RIDDLE, M. D., and ELI B. SMITH, Vice Presidents; WM. F. SWAN, Treasurer, and Rev. ARCHIBALD HANNA, Secretary.

"Although," says the Secretary in his letter communicating the proceedings, "our village is but small, and our people generally struggling for the comforts of life, I have felt that we ought to be doing something in the great and benevolent work of African colonization. Our colonization society now numbers 43 members, and their subscriptions \$38. I hope we will yet make \$50. The abolition agents are frequently visiting us, and are pouring out their lectures and periodicals. Our country is deluged with them. I have made it my business to attend their lectures, and when they were through, permission being granted, I have also given my opinion. In this way I have removed many false impressions, which otherwise would have been made.

"We have lately had a public discussion in our village, between the Rev. J. Monteith, an abolition agent, and the Rev. S. Ferguson, of Wooster. The cause of African colonization was ably and successfully defended. Although the abolitionists have formed a society in our village, yet the prevailing sentiment is in favor of colonization. It would greatly promote the cause, if you would send a well-qualified agent through our country. We have petitioned Congress to extend its patronage to the American Colonization Society, and grant it pecuniary aid."

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[From the *Mississippi Christian Herald*, (Natchez,) January 21, 1837.]

#### MISSISSIPPI STATE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

At a meeting of the executive committee of the State Colonization Society, held at Natchez, on the 16th of January, 1837: Present,

Stephen Duncan, President; John Ker, F. Beaumont, Thomas Henderson.

The following preamble and resolutions were offered, and unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, at the last annual meeting of the Mississippi State Colonization Society, it was declared to be the purpose of the society to obtain a suitable territory in Africa, on which to plant a colony of emigrants from this State; and whereas, by the authority of the committee to whom the business of said society has been intrusted, such a territory has been purchased on the river Sinoe; and whereas delay in taking possession of said territory may probably involve the loss of it; and whereas the strongest reasons of expediency, including the expectations already held out to and approved by the public, call for prompt and energetic action on the part of the committee, they have unanimously decided to go onward, notwithstanding the empty condition of the treasury, and to rely on the prompt liberality of the friends of the measure, and of the cause of African colonization, for the necessary funds; be it therefore Resolved,

1. That the committee will go forward in the enterprise, which they consider as having been committed to their hands, of establishing a colony for emigrants from this State, in Africa, on the territory purchased for that purpose.

2. *Resolved*, That the said territory be called "Mississippi in Africa," and that, in conformity with a former resolution of this board, a town be laid out in the most eligible site, to be called "Greenville," in respect to the memory of the late James Green, of Adams county, and as a memorial of his munificent bequest to the cause of African colonization.

3. *Resolved*, That an expedition shall be prepared as early as possible, to sail from New Orleans, for "Mississippi in Africa," with such suitable emigrants as may be offered, and an agent or governor to superintend the colony.

4. *Resolved*, That the Rev. R. S. Finley be, and he is hereby, appointed an agent of this society, for the purpose of obtaining subscriptions and donations to the society; of receiving applications for emigrants, and of preparing and fitting out expeditions for our colony, &c.

5. *Resolved*, That the Rev. R. S. Finley be authorized and requested immediately to contract for the frame and other building materials, for one or more houses, as he may deem necessary, to be sent out with the first expedition, for the accommodation of the governor of the colony, and the preservation of our necessary stores; and also to provide, for said expedition, a surveyor's compass and chain, and other necessary implements, and also all requisite supplies of provisions and other stores; and that he be requested, without delay, to furnish this board with a detailed estimate of all necessary expenditures for the colony for one year.

6. *Resolved*, That until a definitive arrangement between the "American Colonization Society" and the "Mississippi State Society," of their respective spheres of action and authority, the parent society shall be requested to exercise a general supervision and authority over the colony; and that it shall be incumbent on our governor to consult with and obey the instructions of the American Colonization Society's governor of Liberia.

7. *Resolved*, That Mr. Beaumont be a sub-committee to confer or correspond with such persons as he may deem expedient, in order to obtain the services of a suitable person for the office of governor of our colony.

8. *Resolved*, That a copy of the above proceedings be transmitted to the American Colonization Society, and another to the Rev. R. S. Finley.

9. *Resolved*, That the printers of this city, and of the State, friendly to the cause of colonization, be respectfully invited to publish the above.

S. DUNCAN, *President*.

THOMAS HENDERSON, *Secretary*.



## EMANCIPATION.

We have heretofore mentioned (*African Repository*, vol. 10, p. 251) the death of Mr. JOHNSTON CLEVELAND, a highly respectable citizen and magistrate of Loudoun county, Virginia; and that, by his last will and testament, he had given to his slaves the option of deciding, within two years after his death, whether to emigrate to Liberia, or to choose for themselves a master among his near kindred.

The following is an extract of a letter in relation to them, recently received by the Secretary of the American Colonization Society, from a distinguished citizen of Virginia:

"An old friend of mine, Johnston Cleveland, Esq. late of this county, Loudoun, emancipated his slaves, of whom the bearer, James Henderson, is one. Mr. C. was a humane and liberal master; and his servants were so treated as tended to make them respectable, and to fit them for a residence in Liberia. Mr. C. desired that they should have their hires for two years (he died in the fall of 1834) to serve as a little outfit. I do not know how they have husbanded their means, but presume they have been pretty careful.

"There are seven or eight of them; and, it is likely, they will apply with James. It is my opinion they will be an acquisition to the colony, by reason of the general purity of their lives, their superior intelligence, and habits of industry. James is a house carpenter; the rest have been, for the most part, used to farming.

"I take an interest in their welfare, from an affectionate recollection of an old friend, as well as from a long acquaintance with the proposed emigrants themselves; hence I take the liberty to commend them to your friendly advice and protection."

Mrs. REBECCA SMITH, widow of the late JOHN SMITH, of Sussex county, in Virginia, having recently died, his administrator has transmitted to the American Colonization Society a copy of his last will and testament. He bequeaths to his wife, during her life, all his lands, negroes, stock, furniture, &c.; and directs that, after her death, all his negroes, with their increase, shall be emancipated and sent to Liberia; and gives to each of them, "so emancipated, without regard to age, sex, or condition, one good serviceable new hat, one pair shoes and stockings, blanket, and one year's provisions, exclusive of ship provision on board, to carry with them; the quantity and quality thereof to be left to the discretion of [his] executors."

The third section of the will is as follows:

"3d. I hereby direct my executors to pay all expenses of moving said emancipated slaves, out of any money that may be in their hands belonging to my estate; and, furthermore, direct them to open correspondence, either by letter or in person, or both, with the American Colonization Society, for the removal of free negroes to Africa, so as to endeavor to ascertain the best mode and least expense of getting said negroes there; and also to use all reasonable endeavors to prevail on said Society to receive said negroes into their protection on the same terms that other emancipated negroes go there; and I request of my executors that some one of them see the said negroes on board of some ship or vessel, with all things provided them for their voyage, as by this will directed, and subject my estate to pay all the expense thereof, before any division takes place."

The testator appoints his wife executrix, his friends John Lilly, William Dobie, and Jordan Edwards, executors of his will; but those gentlemen declining to act, administration, with the will annex-

ed, has been granted to Thomas Potts, residing at Sussex Court House. The slaves thus emancipated are about sixty in number, principally in the prime of life, and of good characters.

The late RICHARD TUBMAN, of Augusta, in Georgia, emancipated by his will 48 slaves, to remain in Georgia, should the Legislature of that State pass an act permitting them to do so, in which contingency he bequeathed liberal legacies to several of her literary institutions; but if not permitted to remain in Georgia, to be removed and settled elsewhere, with a provision of \$10,000, out of the testator's estate, for their comfortable settlement. The Legislature of Georgia has refused the permission; and Mrs. Emily Tubman, widow of the testator, wishes to receive full information concerning the Liberian Colony, with a view to the question of their proposed emigration thither. Mr. GURLEY, the Secretary of the society, will avail himself of an expected opportunity to afford, personally, to Mrs. Tubman, the desired information.

Four of the persons referred to are old men, who prefer remaining with their mistress, to which she has consented. Of the remaining 44, none are more than 40 years of age; 13 are women, mostly young, of whom one has 6 children; 11 or 12 are men grown; the others are youths from 14 to 16, 18, &c. years old. They have all been brought up together; are excellent plantation hands; have been accustomed to raise all their own provisions on the cotton farm, but know little of other business, except one who is a carriage driver, and one who is a house servant; a number of them are professors of religion, but none can read.

Mrs. Tubman states that she lately paid these persons \$1,000 for their own extra crop of cotton this year; that she paid to one of the men \$70; to the eldest of the six children mentioned above, (a girl,) \$15, and so on to the others; and that a more interesting set of colored people of the same number is not, perhaps, to be found any where. It is supposed that if sold at present prices, they would bring *forty thousand dollars*. She is ready to pay the \$10,000 provided by her husband for these objects of his bounty, so soon as they are prepared to go.

A letter from a gentleman at Nashville, dated February 1, 1837, states that about forty emancipated slaves, in the vicinity of that place, are waiting for an opportunity to emigrate to Liberia. It is feared that they have no means to defray the expense of their transfer and settlement. If so, the success of their application must depend on the public liberality.

James M. Ray, Esq., Secretary of the Indiana Colonization Society, writes, under date of February 2d, that seven or eight colored persons, in the vicinity of Indianapolis, are desirous to emigrate to Liberia. "These persons," says Mr. Ray, "are of good character, temperate and industrious, and some of them have acquired comfortable property, which they will probably proceed to dispose of, after your answer: Others will have to be assisted; and if an agent could be spared some time in the State, means could be raised towards the cause among us."

[From the *Maryland Colonization Journal*, February, 1837.]

TO THE EDITOR:

I ask permission, through the medium of your journal, to address a proposition to the friends of freedom in the Eastern States. It is this—for every fifty dollars that they will advance, we will furnish a manumitted slave for colonization. Prime slaves are worth twelve hundred and fifty dollars; placing the average value at five hundred dollars, we give ten for one. If this offer be accepted, we will at once proceed to its ratification.

I know it is denied by some of our friends in the East, that we have any right of property in our slaves. It is said that a right acquired by fraud and violence is not valid; we will at present waive the discussion of this question. There are within the eastern section of the United States many estates that were acquired by the slave trade. These are unquestionably held by the same tenure that we hold our slaves. I propose that these be applied to the purpose above stated, and when they are exhausted, the right of property in our slaves will then be a subject for examination.

A MARYLAND SLAVEHOLDER.

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COLONIZATION.

The following extract of a letter from the Reverend JOHN T. EDGAR, D. D., of Nashville, Tennessee, is copied from the *New Orleans Observer*. It will be read with interest by every friend of the Colonization cause:

NASHVILLE, December 6, 1836.

*Dear brother Lawrence:* I am requested to ascertain, through you, the precise time when another vessel, with colonists for Liberia, will leave New Orleans. By a late decree of our court, forty-eight or fifty colored people, manumitted by the late Nicholas Edmiston, are, in accordance with his will, to be sent to Liberia as soon as practicable. They will have, I am told, something like \$3,000, beside the boon of their freedom, with which to go to the land of their fathers.

These facts, in connexion with the preparations now making by the Louisiana and Mississippi State Colonization Societies to send out in February or March an expedition to Liberia, exhibit a coincidence of circumstances which is highly encouraging. Two days before receiving the letter of which the above is an extract, we received a note from the Rev. R. S. Finley, dated at Natchez, Mississippi, informing us that the prospects of that society were favorable, and that they desired to act with their sister society of Louisiana in early steps to found a new colony or colonies on the coast of Africa. He was waiting for a meeting of the executive committee of that society before coming to this city. As soon as that committee should have arranged a plan of operations, he purposed to visit New Orleans, in order to attend the anniversary of the State Society, which will be on Monday, the 2d day of January next. From every indication which we have been able to discover, the prospects of the cause were never more flattering, and it is with delight that we look forward to the annual meeting. We hope none of the friends of colonization will forget the day.

Information from various sources brings us the pleasing intelligence of the success and advancement of the colonization cause. In New York, the venerable Dr. Proudfit, in a short tour through the interior, obtained subscriptions



of about \$7,000 in aid of the Young Men's Colonization Society. An expedition, under the care of the parent society, is just sailing from Norfolk; and from the report of the Rev. Mr. Gurley, lately published in the *African Repository*, we find that, in every portion of the country which he visited, the society was regarded with favor by nearly all classes of the community. And while reading that report, the question occurred to us, why should it not be received with universal favor? It has existed for some years, and its character and tendency have been fully examined and proved by the American people. After full discussions and investigations of its objects, influence, and effects, we are not aware that a single citizen of the United States has ventured to assail it as hostile to the interests of any part of our beloved country, or of any part of the world. It is true, it has been assailed by George Thompson, who, *while performing his mission of removing slavery from "the cotton swamps of Massachusetts,"* at an abolition meeting, introduced a resolution, declaring a society which had been graced by the names of Washington, Marshall, Wirt, and Finley, and hosts of other American patriots and statesmen, as unworthy of confidence. But for such opposition we feel no dislike. We certainly desire not that he should dishonor us by any approbation he could express. Are other grounds of confidence desired? Every act of the society is marked by its freedom from all that can do injury. All the rights of masters, servants, or free people of color, are left perfect and unassailed. Nothing is done or permitted by which the persons, property, or privileges of any person whatever could be in the least affected. While all the proceedings and effects of the society are thus innocent of wrong or injury, its benefits have been great, and are rapidly enlarging. Already is a considerable extent of the western coast of Africa dotted with civilized and Christian towns and settlements, where the native African sees and feels the advantages that the emigrants possess above the aborigines. Already do schools, and books, and churches, and the blessed sabbath, with the preached gospel, shed their healing and hallowing light, not only on the emigrants, but in some degree upon numbers of the native sons of the forest. A newspaper is published in the colony, edited by one of the colored race, whose testimony for colonization is as clear and strong as words can declare. Without attempting to give all the reasons why the Colonization Society should receive the cordial support and co-operation of all, we may add, that it does good to all in this country and all in Africa, and is a method of benevolence to the negro, in which every friend of humanity, North or South, can cordially, and in full confidence, unite their prayers and exertions.

Who that looks upon the young, but enlarging and multiplying settlements upon the African coast, and sees there planted the seeds of commerce, literature, industry, and religion, can forbear to anticipate the day as not distant, when the canvass of every nation's commerce shall whiten every harbor and checker all the seas that wash the western borders of the negro's home? We do believe that, through the facilities afforded by these settlements, and the labors of colored missionaries, the gospel, with all its thousand blessings, shall beam upon the whole of that dark continent, and dispel the gloom of ages that has brooded over the destinies of the long-crushed sons and daughters of Ham. If this hope, cheering to the soul of every Christian philanthropist, may not be indulged, we would ask the abolitionists what hope has the Christian for the disenfranchisement of that dark land?

It is worthy of observation, that, while abolition societies are so zealously at work among the free States to excite hatred and alienation among the people of the United States, and boasting that they are the exclusive friends of the black man, they are doing nothing whatever to meliorate the condition or advance the benefit of a single individual, black or white. The Colonization Society, on the other hand, with little noise, no agitation, and in concert with all real friends of the colored people, is practically blessing our own country and Africa—the black and the white man—the present and future ages. We do really believe that, if all the South would cordially and prayerfully unite in the great cause of colonization, it would effectually put to silence the ignorance of the foolish men who seem to think they can control the South by the breath of distended and windy lungs.

[*From the Western Presbyterian Herald, February 2, 1837.*]

The Editor of the New York Observer, noticing the letter of Mr. Clay, (contained in our last,) in which he accepts the Presidency of the American Colonization Society, says:

"We are sorry that Mr. Clay has chosen to represent the Colonization Society as 'a scheme for effecting a more extensive separation of two races of men.' We view it as the best plan ever devised for elevating the descendants of Africans, and for effecting, ultimately, a high and holy union between brethren of the same great family, who have been hitherto widely and wickedly estranged from each other. This is the view, we are sure, in which Christians who support the Society delight to contemplate it; and we cannot conceive how any one, who views separation as the object and end of the scheme, can persuade himself that he is governed, in supporting it, by philanthropic motives. We trust that Mr. Clay did not intend what his language seems to express."

Does the editor of the Observer mean to say, that, in his judgment, the happiness of the two races will not be promoted by their separation? We are sure he is no advocate for amalgamation. Does he suppose that the "descendants of Africans," remaining in this country, can ever be generally elevated to an equality with the whites, except by mixture of the races!—For ourselves, we thought that true philanthropy demanded their separation—else the abolitionists are in the right. Certainly, colonization must separate them as far as its direct operation goes; and we had supposed that its enlightened advocates desire, at least, if they do not expect it, to lead to their entire separation. We believe that just as much as we diminish the probability of this, we cut the sinews of the Colonization enterprise, and rivet the chains of the slave. Of the people of Kentucky, we are bold to say, that if all were sure that all others would unite in sending their slaves to Africa, nine-tenths of the owners would at once give up their slaves to go. It is because they do not see that this universal "separation" will be made, that each hesitates to relinquish. They perceive that, in many instances, the situation of the slave, emancipated with a view to remaining in the country, is not benefited; and the opinion is general, that any scheme of benevolence which does not imply the separation of the races, must be inadequate, if not visionary. We see but three plans between which to choose: amalgamation, general separation, or continued slavery.

B.

#### MISSIONS TO AFRICA.

*Mission to Ashantee.*—The American Board of Foreign Missions have determined to establish a mission at Cape Coast Castle, for the purpose of introducing the gospel into Ashantee, the most powerful of the African states.

#### EPISCOPAL MISSION TO AFRICA.

[*From the Southern Churchman, January 6, 1837.*]

*African Mission.*—Our readers are already informed that the board of Missions some time since determined that the reproach which rested upon the Protestant Episcopal Church, that she alone of the protestant denominations of

our country had remained indifferent and inactive, while all others were alive to the importance of doing something to enlighten and improve the religious condition of the present inhabitants, both native and colonial, of Western Africa, should cease to exist. This announcement was hailed with pleasure by those who derive from every new foreign missionary enterprise engaged in by the church, evidence of the deeper interest of her members in the holy cause which they have espoused—the cause of Christ the Redeemer and of his church, and of her advancing prosperity; but it was viewed with special interest by those who regard the claims which that country has upon us as of no ordinary magnitude. *A Southern Christian* cannot view Africa with indifference. If it has at all benefited him by the labor which it has furnished, he will be anxious to make some return for the benefit; if he take a different view of the matter, the African mission will still be regarded with favor, as connected with a noble scheme for the removal of the evils he deplores—as co-working to form a happy and well-ordered asylum for those whom humanity or policy may send to the colonies established on the western coast of Africa. These colonies have attained to considerable strength and importance, and are daily improving in these respects. They are inhabited by emigrants from the Southern States, and their population is constantly on the increase by other emigrants from the same region. Does no obligation rest upon those who have sent them thither—or upon those who design to send their slaves to Africa—or upon those who advocate and sustain Colonization Societies—to give them that knowledge without which liberty degenerates into the worst form of slavery, and to give them that religious light and instruction which are essential to man's happiness and proper elevation of character? Apart from these special considerations, have they no claim upon us as members of the human family; and shall the inhabitants of that dark and bleeding land alone be shut out from our sympathies, our prayers, and our alms?

As members of the Episcopal Church, we have taken high ground—and are not slow to declare that we are in possession of superior advantages and greater privileges than others. Greater then is our obligation to communicate that which so much enriches us. If we can bless them so much more than others—if we have freely received, and are commanded to give as freely—why should we compel the needy to depend upon what they can obtain in scanty portions from others?

We have been led to these remarks by the impression that the members of the church have not engaged as generally and cordially in promoting the African mission as we think they should, and because we regard it with a very strong and peculiar interest.

The Colonization Society has made a grant of land at Cape Palmas, for the use of this mission. The site is said to be a beautiful one, and most desirable. A missionary school is already established there, under the charge of Mr. James Thompson, a colored man, and his wife. The Rev. Thomas Savage, M. D. has already embarked for Africa, to make the incipient arrangements for the mission. The interesting and judicious instructions which were received by Dr. Savage we have already published. His colleagues, the Rev. Lancelot B. Minor and the Rev. John Payne, will in the course of a few months join him. They are now engaged in endeavoring to procure funds for the purpose of erecting the necessary missionary buildings. Mr. Minor has been engaged for some weeks in visiting some of the parishes of this State, and has received contributions to the amount of about \$1,500, which will be duly acknowledged. On the last Sunday he preached in Christ Church, in this city, and received about \$140, which, added to what was a few months since given to the same cause, raised the amount contributed by that congregation to the African mission to near \$300. On next Sunday the Rev. Mr. Minor will preach in the Monumental Church in this city, and advocate the claims of the African mission. May we not expect that a congregation so well disposed to the cause of Colonization, so capable of appreciating the objects which will be advocated, and so able to give liberally to the cause, will set a noble example in the present instance.



## LIBERAL DONATION.

The following letter is from the pen of a gentleman whose defence of the American Colonization Society against objections to it made by one of its most distinguished former benefactors, was noticed in this Journal for May, 1836: (*See African Repository*, vol. 12, p. 137.)

TRUMANSBURG, January 18, 1837.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR: I was glad to receive your kind letter of the 10th instant, and to learn that the Colonization enterprise still enjoys the smiles of a benignant Providence. It is still near and dear to my heart; and I hope God will give me a heart that shall *never* cease to pray fervently for its continued prosperity, and *complete and triumphant success*. And I pray that my Heavenly Father may, by his holy spirit, influence me to contribute cheerfully and liberally of *His* property, of which he has made me a steward for a short season. I am pleased to learn that another expedition is soon to be despatched to Bassa Cove, and that I have an opportunity to contribute my mite towards fitting it out. It is my intention to continue to aid in every new expedition which your society may send out to their colony.

At the head of this sheet I send you a draft of two hundred dollars towards my subscription of a thousand; and you will please feel at perfect liberty to call on me for farther instalments from time to time, as your society may want, and until the whole shall have been paid.

Your sincere friend,

HERMAN CAMP.

REV. ALEX. PROUDFIT, Cor. Sec'y. N. Y. Colonization Society.

A REBUKE.—*An Abolition Society* has been formed in Upper Canada. The Quebec Gazette expresses its regret at the movement, as uncalled for, and likely to do mischief.

Slavery does not exist there, (say the editors,) nor in any part of the British dominions. Where then is the use of such a society? Is it intended to operate in the United States? We cannot conceive a greater offence towards any people, than for their neighbors to interfere in their domestic affairs. It is neither consistent with prudence nor good neighborhood. If the right exist in one community, it exists in all. What would be the consequence if it were generally acted upon? Why, precisely what we see every day in common life: people neglecting their own affairs, to intermeddle with those of others; misunderstandings, quarrels, and violence, and a general decline of the happiness and prosperity of those engaged in it.

## THE LIBERIA HERALD.

The establishment and success of a newspaper in a settlement of colored people is a remarkable and confirmatory comment on the opinion, almost universal among the advocates of African Colonization, of its tendency to devolve the intellectual faculties of a race whose position in this country is so unfavorable to the exertion of those faculties as to induce many to question their existence. Extracts occasionally appearing in this journal from the Liberia Herald have often gratified our readers by a display of ability in composition for which they were not prepared; and the paper itself is deservedly regarded by all who see it as a literary curiosity. Numerous subscribers in the United States could be obtained,

were the paper to be transmitted with regularity. This, we regret to say, has not hitherto been the case; but a conversation which we had with the editor, Mr. TEAGE, when he was last in the United States, leads us to hope that the evil may be remedied. The paper is published monthly, at two dollars a year. Persons desiring to obtain it are invited to send their names to the office of the American Colonization Society at Washington. Those who have already subscribed at that office are—

Alexander W. Foster, jr., Pittsburg, Penn.; Miss Eleanor Potts, Frederick, Maryland; Ragland and Levy, Fayetteville, N. C.; Jefferson Beaumont, Natchez, Miss.; Rev. John Allemon, Newtown, Frederick county, Virginia; John A. Wharton, Liberty, Bedford county, Virginia; Nicholas Mills, Richmond, Virginia.

The last number of the Liberia Herald received at the Colonization office is for August, 1836.

#### CONTRIBUTIONS

*To the American Col. Society, from Jan. 1, to Jan. 25, 1837.*

##### *Gerrit Smith's first plan of subscription.*

Nicholas Brown, Esq. Providence R. I., 9th instalment, - \$100

##### *Collections in Churches, &c.*

Loudoun county, Va., Arnold Grove Church, Rev. Wm. Monroe,	30
Union and Hopewell, S. C., Associate Reformed Churches, Rev. Wm. Flenniker,	28
Verona, N. Y., 1st Congregational Church, by Samuel Stocking, agent,	5

##### *Donations.*

Fauquier county, Va., Mrs. Aleinda Marshall,	2
A friend,	50
Maine, Rev. Jonathan Fisher, Blue Hill,	3
Utica, New York, an unknown friend,	25

##### *Auxiliary Societies.*

Mercer county, Pa. Auxiliary Society, Joseph Smith, Treasurer,	12
Putnam, do. Ohio, do. H. Safford, Treasurer,	120
Virginia, do. B. Brand, Treasurer,	110

##### *For passage, &c. of Emigrants.*

Two colored persons from Stokes county, N. C.,	120
A colored person from Richmond, Va.,	60

##### *Legacy.*

From the heir of the late Nathaniel Green, of Casville, Oneida county, N. Y., being the first of four annual instalments, with interest,	29 54
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\$620 29

##### *African Repository.*

Rev. E. D. Andrews, Pittsfield, N. Y., by Elliot Cresson, Esq.,	5
Wm. Wilson, Chester C. H., South Carolina,	2

## Resolutions of the Board.

The following Resolutions in regard to a distribution of the African Repository and Colonial Journal, have been adopted by the Board of Managers.

Monday, December 22, 1828.

*Resolved*, That after the 1st of March next, the African Repository shall be sent to all such Clergymen as have this year taken up collections on or about the 4th of July for the Society, and shall be continued to them as long as they shall continue annually to take up collections.

*Resolved*, That all the subscribers on the plan of Gerrit Smith, Esq. shall be also entitled to the work.

*Resolved*, That all Life Members of the Society shall, if they request it, be entitled to the work for the period of three years.

*Resolved*, That every Annual Subscriber to the Society of ten dollars or more, shall also be entitled to the Repository.

*Resolved*, That the Repository be sent to the Superintendent of each Sunday-School, which may annually take up a collection for the Society."

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## NOTICE.

It is requested that all collections, donations, or subscriptions to the American Colonization Society, be transmitted by mail, if no private opportunity offers, to JOSEPH GALES, Sen'r. Esq. Treasurer of the Society, Washington City; with whom the collecting Agents of the Society will also correspond. With the collections in the churches, the Society expects to receive the names of the Clergymen of the several congregations in which they were made.

All communications, relating to the general interests of the Society, or the Editorial Department of the Repository, to be directed to R. R. GURLEY, Secretary, Washington.

All communications, relating to the pecuniary concerns of the Repository, to be directed to JAMES C. DUNN, Washington, D. C.

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## The African Repository

Can now be had, from its commencement, on application to the Publisher, or Mr. John Kennedy, Washington City, either bound or in numbers; several numbers having been reprinted.

### Plan of Gerrit Smith, Esq.

This Gentleman has proposed to raise \$100,000, for the Society, in ten years, by securing 100 subscribers, who will pay \$100 annually, during that time. The following have already subscribed.

Gerrit Smith Peterboro' New York,  
 Jasper Corning, Charleston, S Carolina,  
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 Wm A Carrington, P S Carrington, } equal contributions  
 Gen Edward Carrington, and Walter C. Carrington.  
 A few Gentlemen near Oak Hill, Fauquier county Va.  
 Robert Ralston, Philadelphia.  
 Elliot Cresson, do  
 Robert Gilmor, Baltimore.  
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 Another Subscription on the plan of Gerret Smith, in Bishop Mea  
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 John McDonogh, do  
 Auxiliary Colonization Society, Wilmington Delaware,  
 Hon John Ker, of Louisiana,  
 John Linton, do  
 D I Burr, Richmond Va,  
 Auxiliary Colonization Society, Hampshire county Massachusetts,  
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